cuttings to protect them from ants. During this period of several months kalamongay greens are relatively scarce.

Tangkong

Another popular but not as widely grown vegetable is tangkong (Ipomoea aquatica Forsk, previously known as Ipomoea reptans (Linn.) Poir.) Tangkong is an aquatic morning glory that trails on mud or floats on the water of quiet pools. Tangkong was grown in Caticugan only along the banks of the Caticugan creek. Caticugan tangkong had a local reputation for being "very fat and big."

Brown incorrectly writes: "The plant [tangkong] is not cultivated but grows wild."[73] While wild tangkong is gathered in some of Caticugan's paddies during the rainy period it is smaller and less succulent. The tangkong patches along the creek are planted and cared for by female owners. Tangkong is usually planted at the end of the rainy season. During the wet season the heavy rains swell the Siaton River, flood the Caticugan creek, and wash away tangkong patches planted at the beginning of the previous year's dry season. During the dry season tangkong is splashed with water once or twice a day or the plant is said to wilt and the leaves to become dry and yellow.

The price of tangkong varies throughout the year. When kalamongay is scarce, just after it is trimmed in

[73] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

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[825]

Farther north there are said to be a considerable number of manok ihalas (Red Jungle Fowl: Gallus gallus gallus, Linne.) that the barriofolk hunt; some are merely domesticated fowl that have gone wild. There were no wild chickens in Catiougan and the men did not hunt for them. While the trapping of wild birds is done by both sexes, it is often the sport of young boys. Wild birds furnish a very small part of the diet of only a few families in Catiougan.

LIZARDS

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One large lizard (ibid) is hunted by some barriofolk although most of them hunt ibid only in periods of acute food shortage. This lizard is usually found in bamboo groves or in the kamansilis trees near the river; it is hunted with the blow-gun, trapped with grated coconut meat, or run down by dogs. Large ibid are said to weigh as much as 10 pounds. The meat, boiled in coconut "milk," "tastes like chicken." Another large lizard (halo) found in the locality is not eaten.

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COLLECTING WILD HONEY

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Once the hives of wild honey bees (potyakan) were hunted for their honey. Few wild beehives are found today in Catiougan or environs. When the hives are found accidentally, the honey is collected; the people are fond of it. One informant said that when he was a young man

he found many hives each year "but I have not found a hive for more than ten years." March and April are the best months to look for hives. 222

A fire was built usually under a hive in order to smoke out the bees. Burning torches were also carried into the tree. The torch was slung over one's shoulder so that in climbing a tree the smoke rose above the person's head. One informant said the torch was made with split bamboo, wrapped with betel nut leaves, and tied with rattan. "One must not cut the rattan with one's teeth or one will be bitten by the many bees."

Sometimes a special torch was made from the green leaves of the palasan palm and wrapped with split bamboo. This torch contained three leaves of the banban plant, three or four patikan (also called bendita) palm leaves, and a pinch of dirt from an earthworm mound. The dirt was to prevent the person from being stung by the bees--"the earth is very soft"--while the banban and patikan were "good medicine if one were stung." After the wild bees were smoked from the hive, the lower portion was severed and permitted to fall to the ground for "it contains only young bees, no honey." The remaining part of the hive was put into a container and the honey expressed.

No insects are collected or eaten by the barrio-folk except during periods of acute food shortage when some people may eat the daging beetle or locust (dolon or lupad). The locusts are gathered, de-winged and

de-legged and then fried in lard until a crispy brown.[10] 222

GATHERING WILD ROOTS

The most frequently gathered wild plant food is a variety of roots or corms; most barriofolk speak of these wild roots as "emergency food." When their food supply runs short many people in Caticugan hunt for and dig these wild roots to supplement their diet. My assistant wrote in the summer of 1952:

> The harvests are no good this year. The kids as well as the old folks in Caticugan, and especially Naga and Dangola, are busy all day looking and digging for wild roots as substitutes for corn and rice.

Sometimes the women will dry and store the roots against the "starvation months," particularly if the harvest be poor. For the poorer people of the barrio, the wild roots are a fairly important item of daily fare during the "starvation months," although the barriofolk with more abundant larders rarely utilize them.

Eight different types of wild roots are gathered by the barriofolk: balyakag, bolbo, bolot, igao, kobong, labia, olabi and taposi. The most commonly used are: igao, balyakag, and labia.

Igao (Amorphophallus campanulatus (Roxb.) Blume) grows abundantly, both in the lowlands and in the mountains.

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[10] Phelps Whitmarsh, "A Visit to the Visayas," Outlook, LXVI, No. 3, (September 15, 1900), p. 170. Whitmarsh wrote that in the marketplace at Iloilo City he saw women selling fried grasshoppers.

It is a frequent saingin volunteer and one could see plants growing in poblacion vacant lots. Igao has been studied so there is some information on its nutritional value.[11] The igao's petioles are boiled and fed to the pigs (but never eaten by the people in Caticugan) while the corms are gathered for food.

All wild corms are dug during the dry or hot season. When the rainy season appears the roots become very fibrous and less agreeable to eat. It is fortunate for the barriofolk that the corms are most palatable during the period when they are most needed. With the coming of the rains the igao leafs out and the corms turn black. They may still be dug to feed to pigs but this is not a common practice in Caticugan. Barriofolk regard the corms as most palatable in March and April.

Both men and women dig for wild roots. However, when the roots are shallow and easily dug, women and children normally dig them. If the vines are very thorny

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[11] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 344. The Tagalog name for igao is pungapung. R. F. Bacon, "Starch Production in the Philippines," Phil. Journal of Science, A 3 (1908), states the highest yield of starch obtainable from the igao corms is 4.5 per cent; this study cited in Brown, ibid. More recent studies by Wester and Hermano give the following data on the constituents of the igao corm: moisture 77.8 (74.8) per cent; ash 1.3 (0.7); fat 0.13 (0.6); protein 1.4 (5.1); and giving 574 (1,000) calories per 2.2 pounds. Hermano's study is cited in Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 344-348. Hermano's figures are enclosed in (). P. J. Wester, The Food Plants of the Philippines. 3rd revised edition. Manila, Bureau of Agriculture Bulletin No. 39, Bureau of Printing, 1925, p. 218.

and the roots deep, as with belyakag and bolot, the men usually obtain the corms. Now and then one sees two or three men with broad-pointed iron-tipped digging sticks (sakal) set off for the hills. 222 [412]

In digging for igao one looks for a place where a plant has withered and died. The sakal is pushed gently into the opening in the earth at the base of the plant to see if there is a root; since the roots are shallow, they are easily obtained. Once the root has been uncovered, it is stuck through with a stick that serves as a handle; juice from the leaves and the corm makes the skin itch if contact occurs. There are no associated beliefs connected with igao because "it is easy to dig, always shallow in the earth."

Preparation of the igao corm takes considerable time; this is one reason why it is utilized only during food shortages. The root is first sliced into chips that are dried until they become brittle. The dried chips are pounded to powder in the rice mortar. This flour is strained through sbaga cloth, dampened and repounded until it "is like wet cotton." One woman said the damp igao flour should be "pounded continuously for two hours"; if not adequately processed one becomes dizzy from eating igao porridge. A few women in Caticugan had stored small amounts of igao flour. 252 [251]

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Another wild root frequently dug is the balyakag (Dioscorea divaricata Blanco).[12] Like other roots balyakag is dug only during the dry season before the vine begins to produce new leaves and the corms become fibrous. Balyakag roots are quite deep and difficult to dig, so men usually gather them. The best place to dig for the tubers is opposite to the direction in which the vine leans. If the vine leans toward the north, then one begins a foot or so away from the base of the plant, toward the south. If the thorns of the vine point upward, this is a sign that the tubers are shallow while if the thorns point downward, the roots are deep. Some people do not dig balyakag when the thorns point downward.

A belief connected with balyakag is that one should not talk or joke while digging for the corms. As one woman said: "If one jokes by saying 'My! I bet we shall find big roots on this plant' then the roots disappear or are very deep." Not all of the barriofolk accept this belief; as one man said scoffingly: "Who would be talking to himself in the forest anyway?" The

[12] Brown writes: "The underground tubers are fleshy, slender, and attain a length of over two meters and at the thickest part hardly exceed ten centimeters in diameter...They are of fair quality either baked, boiled, or fried...The fact that the tubers are so far underground affords them great protection against wild hogs. They are, however, much sought after and dug up by the Negritos." Brown, op. cit., I, p. 392. Encarnacion, op. cit., p. 31, writes that the baliacag is a climbing vine with an edible cylindrical white root.

only other wild root that is included in this belief is 222
olabi. All other corms may be dug while the diggers talk and laugh. The reason given is that "these plants have roots that are shallow and easy to dig while balyakag and olabi are hard work to get."

Lahia is an easily obtainable corm; sometimes they protrude above the surface of the ground. The lahia corm looks much like the bulb of a gladiola; it is a species of Dioscorea. Small girls sometimes dig for lahia in the hills near Catiougan. These corms are said to have less starch and to be more fibrous than balyakag. One family in Talo-ot planted lahia corms in the hills near their house and reported that people living in the mountains planted lahia "like corn." Lahia are prepared [231] like the balyakag and the peelings often fed to pigs.

Balyakag and the other corms are washed, peeled, and boiled or roasted over the fire. Igao and kobong, however, must be carefully processed to remove certain toxins. Balyakag corms, some people said, were sometimes sold in the poblacion marketplace; this did not occur during my residence.

Taposi, olabi and bolbo also are dug during the dry season--mostly by women because the corms are shallow. Since the bolot (a species of Dioscorea) is a thorny vine and the tubers are deep, men dig for them more often than women. In digging the bolot it is important not to cut the long root leading to the corm "or you may never find it." The barriofolk said that people living in the northern

The barriofolk said that people living in the northern 526
barrios sometimes came to Caticugan to barter bolot for 438
corn. The corms are diced, boiled in coconut "milk" and 252
then salted or sugared to taste.

Kobong (Tag: nami; Dioscorea hispida Dennst.), a 222
native yam, is also gathered. Like igao, kobong tubers 252
must be carefully processed before consumption. Encarnacion states that if kobong corms are eaten without proper preparation they may produce death; the corms contain a poisonous alkaloid called dioscorine.[13] Kobong are sliced into thin chips and dried for several days. Then they are put in water, usually in a creek, on mats weighted with stones. Each morning, for several days, "one must stir the still water so the powder soaked off will float away." Then the chips are squeezed and put under the sun. This process removes the dioscorine and most of the sugar and starch leaving mainly the fiber. When thoroughly dried, kobong chips are pounded into a coarse flour that is used to make porridge or stored. One should not dig kobong when the wind moves the vine, according to some informants, because if one does and later eats the tubers dizziness results.

No wild seeds of any sort are gathered, or were in 222
the past, by the barriofolk of Caticugan. They do not 262
gather many wild vegetables, except for these corms. Some collect wild tangkong or halum (often in the flooded

[13] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 398-401.

paddies) and a few use the leaves of the dapdap (Erythrina variegata L. var. orientalis (L.) Merr.) tree as greens. Sometimes the blossoms of wild bananas are gathered, boiled, and eaten. 222 262

MUSHROOMS

Wild mushrooms, though not very plentiful, are gathered by the barriofolk. Most people are fond of mushrooms, and consider them a delicacy. Individuals rarely make special searches for mushrooms; they watch for them when traveling in the mountains. Mushrooms are usually collected during the rainy season; they are found growing in bamboo groves, on dead logs, rotting banana or abaca stalks (often in saingina) and other shady places.[14] 222

Eleven different types of edible mushrooms (obong) are gathered by the barriofolk: amamakol, libgos, kolambop, lavat, saha-an, kotmava, obong (a poisonous type is also known by the same name), talope, tangogtangog, lavalava and songadsongad. The most common varieties that grow near Caticugan

[14] Few cases of fatal mushroom poisoning occur in the Philippines since the poisonous species rarely grow in the lowlands; they thrive best in cool places in the mountains. "It is a common belief in the Philippines that thunder and lightning have something to do with the spontaneous appearance of mushrooms. When thunder begins to rumble, especially during May or early June, at the start of the rainy season, young and old in rural communities rush out to the open fields and meadows to search for mushrooms." The general name for edible mushrooms in Tagalog is kabute, in Negros and Panay, obong, and Leyte ulaping. Jose M. Mendoza, "Philippine Mushrooms." The Philippines Journal of Science, LXV, Nos. 1-2, (January-February, 1938), pp. 13-15. My collection of mushrooms for identification spoiled: for this reason the English or scientific names are not given. Mendoza's study did not list the Cebuano names for these mushrooms. [811] [146]

are libgos, kolakdop, layat and tangogtangog. Amamakol is said to be available throughout the year while the layat, songadsongad and layalaya are gathered mostly in May and June.

Sometimes a lucky person finds a lot of mushrooms and sells them in the marketplace; they are quickly purchased. One day a young man came to Siaton poblacion with a half a gunny sack of libgos that he sold for five cents a hatful. Mushrooms are normally sliced and mixed with vegetables or fried in lard.

WILD FRUITS

Certain wild fruits are eaten in season. One popular fruit, somewhat similar to a cherry, is the lumboy (Tag: duhat; Syzygium cumini (Linn.) Skeels).[15] Lumboys ripen in April and May; children often gather large quantities and sell them in the poblacion. In Sitio Katogasan (Barrio Datag), lumboy trees are said to be very plentiful.

Wild guavas (bayabas) are fairly plentiful in Caticugan; they occur mostly in the nearby hills.[16]

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[15] An analysis of the mineral content and food value of fresh and oven-dried lumboy samples has been made. The analyses indicate that lumboy is a good source of calcium and fair in iron. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 156-9.

[16] Guavas are one of the commonest and best known fruits in the Philippines, a native of tropical America that has become thoroughly naturalized. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 152-3.

Guavas ripen in August and September. Rarely, the barrio-folk make guava dulce which is pulverized guava pulp, boiled in a frying pan filled with water until tender. The cooked pulp is eaten mixed with brown sugar.

The small round fruit of the ano-on tree is eaten usually in April. The fruit is red when mature, it is often gathered by the children although the tree is not abundant in the vicinity of Caticugan. Fruit of the kamansilis (Pithecolobium dulce (Roxb.) Benth) is also gathered and eaten, particularly by the children. Many kamansilis trees grow in Caticugan, especially along the Siaton River bank. The fruit is small and flat and only the inner pulp is eaten. The bark of this tree is used also in tanning.

Some small wild mangoes are gathered in August and September. The domesticated mango is quite popular in Siaton and the demand always exceeds supply. People who have large mango trees often send boxes of the fruit to Dumaguete where they bring a higher price than in Siaton poblacion. Sometimes low fires are built under the mango trees to force early production of fruit.

PALM FLOUR

A coarse flour can be made from the saksak, ediok and buri palms. This flour is an "emergency food" in Caticugan but some people in northern communities, like Dolog, use flour made from the saksak rather frequently before the first corn harvest. During the last war the

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Marine mollusks are gathered mainly by women and young girls; men and young boys infrequently participate. The mollusks are gathered at low tide usually during or just before a full moon; the women enjoy collecting snails and clams. They bathe, gossip, playfully splash water on friends while dipping coconut shells into the sand for the clams. The marine clams most frequently gathered are Kalaykay and Toway; the marine snails are Tabono and Tandaday.

At the July full moon I visited the seashore one afternoon. The most popular place to collect snails and clams is a rocky stretch of beach just east of the Siaton River mouth. About seventy individuals were hunting along the rocky beach; they were women or young girls and a very few elderly men. Ten were from Catiogan; others came from the poblacion, from Barrios Mantuyop, and from Sumalering. Some dug in the sand for clams, and put them into a container or popped them into their mouths. When their mouths were full they walked to the beach and put these clams in a container. Some women dropped the clams into their blouse fronts.

The most abundant of all these marine snails and clams is the Kalaykay; about the size of a quarter. The Tandagay, said to be "very good eating," are often collected on rainy days when they stick to stones in shallow water.

[222]

Barriofolk rarely go to the nipa swamps just to collect clams and snails. They usually combine this task with getting nipa leaves.

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task with getting nipa leaves. The largest clam found in these areas is the Toway; one pokes a bolo (brought to cut nipa leaves) or a stick into a soft mount or bubbling hole in the damp sand of the swamp to get Toways. Four types of snails that are found in nipa swamps are: Dalodalo, Hagonipa, Libodbod, and Taboysoy (the latter clings to the palm trunks and leaves).

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Two types of seaweed are gathered and eaten by the barriofolk: a green moss, lumot, and a brownish moss, lagot. Lagot is put in hot water, then drained and garlic, salt, and vinegar added. These two seaweeds are gathered during the dry season along the beach. When the rainy season begins the mosses "become slippery and are not good to eat." Only a few families in Cateugan were observed eating these mosses.

METHODS OF OBTAINING RIVER FISH

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[262]
[435]
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A large share of the fish eaten locally is caught in the Siaton River. Many families eat more river fish than sea fish. They either lack money to buy sea fish or there may be none for sale in the marketplace.

Table XXIX[1] lists local names, and in most cases, scientific identification, of types of fish caught in the Siaton River.

River fish are caught in eight different ways: (1) with nets (ta-an and tangkop); (2) with bamboo-rattan traps (saag, balantak and bobo); (3) with fish poisons; (4) by the salobog method; (5) by a process called

1 [See p. 540, cat. 226 or 116 -- Analyst]